Since attendance in the schools is to a certain extent
871 compulsory, it is necessary at least for Village Heads and
555 District Heads to send their sons to school. In addition,
political advancement under the current system demands a cer-
[177] tain amount of education. Thus a paradox: it is necessary
[182] to accept certain non-Kanuri values, to be educated outside
of the traditional Kanuri system, in order to succeed in the
political system which has become incorporated as part of
463 Kanuri culture. Young men who are graduated from secondary
[874] school are trained as sanitation officers, agricultural as-
sistants, veterinary assistants, medical dispensers, hides
[354] and skins inspectors, clerks, and school-teachers. They func-
tion as a professional class, and they are called 'Malam', an
extension of the title given to a learned man which formerly
[871] meant a scholar of the Koran. The presence in a town of vet-
[555] erinary Malams and dispensary Malams, often the sons of Vil-
lage Heads or District Heads, provides a slight incentive to
ordinary villagers to send their sons to school, since these
Malams are salaried employees of the Native Authority. Often
the Malams themselves go into politics and seek appointments
as Village Heads or District Heads, following their fathers.
Thus they return to traditional leadership in the Kanuri com-
munity.

3. Economy.

433 Perhaps the greatest changes which have occurred in Bornu
439 Province are economic--Bornu today is part of the world. The

592 369 There is still another way to become part of a large household. This is the most informal of the various sets of relationships, and is particularly characteristic of the larger towns and cities. In the villages, a man who is a talaka can always clear new land, farm industriously, marry, and establish 592 369 874 463 571 his own household. In the larger towns and cities, it is extremely difficult to make one's fortune without the help of some protector. Consequently it becomes imperative for a young man recently come to the city to find such a protector, and when he does he becomes part of that man's household. Craftsmen and traders form the bulk of the specialists in the towns and cities, but how is a young man to learn a trade, or to get his start in commerce? He does so by becoming attached to the household of a craftsman, a leather-worker or dyer, where he begins by performing menial tasks of various sorts and where he eventually learns that trade. Or he becomes part of the household of a wealthy trader, where once again he performs common household tasks until he has demonstrated his trustworthiness and his willingness to work hard. The master of the house will then begin to entrust him with increasingly more important tasks, until he becomes the trusted agent of his master, dealing in large sums of money and given important responsibilities. Throughout this time he is referred to as <u>tata njima</u>, son of the house. 592 609 571 In households made up of more than the simple nuclear family, tata njima form the largest single category of individuals. The relationship between tata njima and the komanzo fatobe is conceived of, and patterned after the kinship relationship between

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[241] These three compound heads all farm near one another on the split-up land of their Mo-Bro (they also have cleared other plots), often helping one another in farming duties. They present a united front to the community at large and if one appears in court, the others will also be present.

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593 The youngest half-brother also learned the butcher's craft, but he has married and moved away to another section of the butcher's quarter and today has virtually nothing to do with his three half-brothers. Some of this half-brother's statements indicate the background of disunity among siblings. He had been raised until puberty in the house of X who was married to his Mo-Sis in the capital. After puberty he came to the house of his Mo-Bro in Maguseri, who was now dead and whose place as compound head had been
592 taken by the eldest of the half-brothers. This brother "taught him
593 the knife" (i.e. instructed him in butchering) and he in his turn
874 gave bɨrzum (respect) to the half-brother, who was now also his compound head. Here is a paraphrase translation of his own attitude to the relationship:

> I did not have a father and was now living in the house of my elder brother, who was head of the house — therefore I had to give to my brother the same respect as a father and keep myself under his orders. I wanted a wife (all my other brothers had married and moved out to form their own households by now), but my eldest brother ordered me to wait patiently until I learned the occupation properly — he said — continue to stay in my house and carry grass for my horse, and learn the butcher's trade and I will feed you and give you money for spending and buy your clothes. But I was not happy and saved my money in secret and saved enough to take a wife of my own — they were cheap in those days. My older brother was angry and did not agree to the marriage but he still wished for me to stay in the compound — but I did not wish to do this and so I moved away to a house that X, the husband of my Mo-Sis in Maiduguri, owned here in the butcher's quarter.

3: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1960 M514 Kanuri M514

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463 is occupational choice and training. For most boys the choice is determined by the elders of the household in which they are living or by the economic specialization in their own quarter of town or hamlet. One youth, whose father is a small salt retailer and a farmer, lives in a quarter where many of the household heads are dyers. He has been apprenticed by his father to one of the dyer households in order to learn the trade. In general and especially for rural areas, sons in a household are expected to take up the occupation of the household head.

This should not be thought of, however, as a system in which the young boy merely complies with the wishes of his elders. There is much evidence to show that some degree of personal freedom is involved in occupational choice. For example, a butcher's son remarked that, despite his father's wishes, he would never be a butcher and was planning to learn his Fa-Bro occupation of hides and skins trader. This is especially true today if the young boy is sent to the city to stay with a relative while learning a craft. The plethora of new and different occupations in the city may attract the young man and lead him to make his own decisions about his occupation.

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882 There is an apprenticeship system for learning occupations which varies in length depending upon the age of the boy, the socio-economic status of the occupation, and the relationship between the boy and the craftsman. As boys become older they expect their apprenticeship times to be shortened, whereas the earlier an apprenticeship is begun the longer the period of training. However, even in the case of a twenty-two year old, a two to three year period is not uncommon. Again, if the occupation has a higher status and/or pecuniary return,

874 882 the person taking on the apprentice can expect a longer period of service in return for his admitting the newcomer into the advantageous job status. Thus lorry drivers, who make comparatively higher incomes, demand a high fee plus a four or five year apprenticeship from persons they take on as initiates. Butchers, although in a low status occupation, also do well financially and therefore obtain longer periods of service from their apprentices. If the relationship between the apprentice and the occupation member is non-consanguineal then the arrangements over terms of apprenticeship are arrived at between the boy and his family on the one hand and the occupation member on the other.

The boy must live in the "master's"house for a stipulated period, helping with all the work of the household, the farming, bringing grass for the horse if there is one, running messages, and helping in the craft work. He is called tada njima (son of the house) and refers to his new household head as aba njima (father of the house). He must act in this situation in the same way as a son would act to his father. If the "master" is already a relative, he refers to the person by the kin term and acts in the same manner described for the non-relative. In the latter case, the arrangements are commonly made earlier in the boy's life and last longer, i.e. it bears more resemblance to a true adoption. As was shown in chapter four, the exact time of termination of an apprenticeship can lead to some conflict between them.(1) The following example illustrates that conflict does not always accompany the termination of an apprenticeship.

[578]

A young barber apprentice of about nineteen or twenty years of age had previously been a seller of kola nuts, but decided to give

[441] [452]

(1) See above, p. 85.

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[441]
[452]

it up because, as he said, it entailed the constant giving of credit to his customers and he never seemed to be able to collect all the money owing to him. His full brother in Maiduguri (who had been his wholesale supplier) advised him that barbering was a good occupation and that one of the local barbers in Magumeri needed a tada njima because his own son was as yet too young to help him. The boy went and asked the barber about it and then made his own arrangements for the apprenticeship (the barber knew the boy's kinsmen). He moved into the barber's compound for one year and became a tada njima. He could visit his own compound in which his mother lived by herself and keep up his own farm. He had to help the barber on his farm, get grass for his horse, carry water now and then, and be ready at all times to run messages for his aba njima (father of the house). The barber taught him how to shave heads and cup blood (for medicinal purposes), and gave him a barber's bag of tools with which he began working, sometimes with his senior, sometimes alone. By right, all receipts of his work during that year were supposed to be given to the barber. Naturally, he pocketed an occasional fee, but not too often; to do so would have been to risk his mentor's dissatisfaction and therefore the end of his projected career as a barber. The senior could, if he felt the boy to be completely unsatisfactory, dismiss him and take back the barber tools. The barber fed him, clothed him and gave him a little spending money regularly during that first year. At special events, like naming ceremonies, he was given a small tip (one to two shillings) by the household head because of his role as barber's apprentice, which he kept for himself. In 1957, he moved back to his own compound with his mother. He still considers himself a tada njima of the bar-

874 882 ber because he still does chores for him, and claims to give the senior about fifteen per cent of his receipts. Furthermore, he does not yet know how to cut face-marks, remove uvula, or perform circumcisions, and thus attends all these ceremonies with his senior barber in order to continue his education. He hopes that by next year he may be allowed to perform some of these operations under supervision. When he has finished his education, it will not be necessary to do anything for the senior. However, he will always pay respect to his ex-teacher for many years to come.

Other apprentices, who were living with strangers, but had gone into the same occupation as their fathers, claimed that they were freer in this situation than if they were in training in their own households. They also stated that it "was nice" (kòji) to travel around and see other places in Bornu. The "freedom" was observed to refer to sexual experimentation, not discipline-respect with the compound head. As we have mentioned, it is considered shameful for children to discuss or acknowledge directly any marriage plans or sexual behaviour in the presence of parents. In some of these cases the mobility is explained by the fact that the boy's father was dead and his mother or grandparent has sent him off to a relative or a friend in order to learn the dead father's craft. In general, the boy completes his learning of agricultural skills, the planting, hoeing and harvesting of the various crops, as well as the clearing of new land in this period. Most often during his adolescence he acquires one or more plots of land of his own, either through inheritance, from the local political leader, by purchase or gift, or by going farther afield from his village and clearing new bushland. He also becomes acquainted with

882 (831)

(423)

463 crafts, that is to lump services such as native doctor with manufac-
829 turing such as pottery making. Recruitment into a craft is carried on
874 by an apprenticeship system. In return for learning the craft, the apprentice serves his senior and gives him some or all of his earnings
874 during the training period. New occupations such as carpenter or lorry
178 driver, which do not require literacy, have utilized the apprentice system of recruitment. On the other hand, in western jobs requiring literacy and other kinds of schooling the apprentice system is at a minimum.

467 Traditional craft workers in Bornu are organized by occupation under head men in each village area and each city. Today the Maiduguri head of a craft has the highest status of local craft heads in Bornu, but his few privileges hardly extend beyond the capital. Nevertheless, rural heads of crafts who visit Maiduguri should still render nona (pay their respects) to the Maiduguri head of their sanya (occupation). Informants everywhere agreed that not only local craft heads but all craft members should do the same, although this latter prescription seems to be more honoured in the breach. Local heads all over Bornu do, however, have some special privileges. Thus in the larger centres of Maiduguri, Geidam, Nguru, and Gashua, the head butcher has one day a week (not the traditional market day) on which his meat alone is sold. In Magumeri, the head butcher gets a small commission on all skins sold by Magumeri butchers to the hides and skins buyers.

433 The household group in Bornu cannot produce all the things
438 it requires in its consumption patterns. The needs of a specialized and semi-specialized population are satisfied through the operation of a highly organized system of interlocking market cycles. This system is described in detail in the section on trade.

231 Mala Bukar, the butcher

463 The butcher's craft, although comparatively lucrative, is a low status occupation. It requires technical skills and social re-
[874] lations beyond the tribe. Manual and anatomical knowledge of butchery is learned during the apprenticeship period, often referred to as "taking up the knife". The craft also requires continuous relations
[439] with cattle owners, who supply the raw material for the work. Since cows are primarily kept by Fulani and Shuwa nomads, this requires inter-tribal relations for the butcher with the cattle people. Sheep and goats are kept locally and sold generally by their keepers to one of the several local butchers.

592 Mala Bukar lives with his two wives, the younger of whom has a small child, aged about three, and two tada njima (sons of the house, in this case, apprentices). There are five huts in the compound, one each for the wives, one for himself, one for the two apprentices, and
592 one for meat storage. The apprentices are both sons of butchers un-
874 related but known to Mala Bukar. They explained that they wished to travel about the country before they settled down in their home towns as butchers. One seemed much surer of returning eventually to his
[831] father's household than the other. They treat Mala Bukar with as much respect as they would a real biological father, but seem to have a somewhat more open discussion with him of their sexual life than sons who live at home.

423 Mala Bukar has inherited some farmland with the kulo fatobe area (the near or house farm area). He also has a plot farther out in
241 the kulo karabe area (far or bush farm area). In addition, his apprentices are clearing (1956) a new plot in the bush farm area which is to replace a depleted one next year. The apprentices are also clearing

3: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1960 MS14 Kanuri MS14

423 rural house sites; (3) resting land which is owned through usufruct right but whose soil is depleted; (4) virgin land between settlements, 425 which is open to ownership through the operation of usufruct rights. Finally, land may be transferred through inheritance, allocation by political leaders, clearing of bush and sale or gift.

Labour

464 874 Besides his own efforts, the Kanuri male householder can obtain help for his craft work from apprentices, who have entered his service. On his farm he may get extra labour from: (1) his wife or wives; 241 464 476 (2) other compound members, such as apprentices, wives' relatives, or his own kinsmen or children, if these latter are old enough to contribute; (3) hired labourers who may work either on a contract price for the entire job, or by the day; (4) the co-operative work group (serwa) mentioned above. These people are not necessarily of the same age group. They help one another at farming, building and fixing houses, compound walls and other jobs requiring collective effort. Serwa are easily joined and as easily left and may have a long or a short life depending upon the interest of the members in obtaining such a labour source, as well as upon social and physical mobility of individual group members. The following table indicates the sources of labour utilized by the seventy-five farm owners in the survey.

TABLE XVIII

Table Showing Numbers and Percentages of Cultivators Utilizing the Four Kinds of Labour Sources, in the Farm Survey

Occupation	N	Men using wives		Men using others in compound		Men using labourers		Men using serwa	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
farmers	25	25	100	13	52	8	32	15	60
craftsmen	16	16	100	12	75	7	44	9	56
traders	17	17	100	13	77	12	71	6	35
political and religious spec.	17	16	94	5	29	6	35	6	35
Totals	75	/74	98	43	57	33	44	36	48

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

followers, or having children. Conversely, peasants who experience a decrease in crop yields attribute this to a loss of personnel in their household (Cohen, 1959: 272-5). Thus increased yields like many other facets of self-improvement in Bornu are based on social relations, not technology, when seen from the peasants' point of view.

Although there is no confirming evidence, another factor may have been operating in this situation. The sudden release from autocratic leadership could have been an expression of the aggression, hostility, and rebelliousness, usually associated with psychological reactions to authoritarian leadership. White and Lippitt (1953: 602) have shown this to be so in their studies of children's clubs, and it may have a much wider application. Whether or not people with a long tradition of autocratic social organization experience these same feelings, with the same intensity is a question which must await further research.

The field worker, Malam Abdulla, was a young man of twenty-two. He had recently graduated from a one-year course at an agricultural technical training college and hoped to rise quickly in the Bornu department. He was, however, blocked by the seniority system which placed over him people with less education than himself. The college officials had evidently made much of the advantages of education and promised the graduates rapid advancement. But, jealousy, nepotism, and his youth held him back, for the moment, from obtaining a higher post. Malam Abdulla deeply resented this, and continually blamed his lot upon the traditional social order of Bornu. He admired European technology, which had given him his hoped-for status, and was also attracted to the western ideology of liberal democracy, with which he had come into contact in secondary school.

His department head, the Agricultural Officer, also admired European technology and culture. He lived in a European house, ate western food, and could on occasion act as a completely acculturated person. That is to say, both the department head, and the field worker indicated a generalized cathexis for western culture, not just its technology.